

THE UPPER XINGÚ AREA

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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves. 134
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The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized. 105
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The Neighbors of the Trumai

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumai and the Cariban Kuituru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Aueti, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapiti, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batovi River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenai.¹ All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area. 101
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The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries. 101

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen² and, latterly, in Galvão³ and Oberg.⁴ Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein; 171
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¹ Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapiti, Kustenai, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

² Von den Steinen 1898.

³ Galvão 1949.

⁴ Oberg 1953.

- [171] zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organization. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general. The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumai History

- [129] Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumai from the southeast. Apparently this move did not occur very long ago, for the Trumai themselves still tell of it. According to Trumai tradition they came into their present habitat from a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumai village. Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú Trumai knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes. [291] Matiwana, the old man of the Trumai, claimed to remember when the Trumai still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that, [177] when the Trumai moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom. [291] The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumai women did not use the true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,³ suggests a fairly recent entry of the Trumai into the upper Xingú area — perhaps no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pressures of white colonization.
- [174] Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumai habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive, [177] and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing. The Trumai lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neighbors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in ceremonial songs. The songs of two major Trumai ceremonies, both of which [533] are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kamayurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumai [92] is *ururi*. The Trumai words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

³ Von den Steinen, 1897, p. 188.

226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumai fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[171] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumai lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drags were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

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403 The Trumai lagoon was considered the property of the community, and the Trumai maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumai villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kuliseu and ranged as far afield as the Batovi River.

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201 While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

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226 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tsuasi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

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571 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower of the canoe and his helper (*tsu*). The *tsu* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tsu* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tsu*, nor

421 significant that Aloari, probably the most aggressive person in the village, was often an organizer and always a main participant in the games. On the other hand, he never cooperated in group work. This conventionalized form of exchange, which Quain called the trade game, had a strong functional role in Trumai culture, but there are indications that it was of outside origin. One informant said that it was a Bakairi custom, and Quain thought that the "game" might have been introduced by Bakairi traders bringing goods from the Indian post on the Paranatinga River.¹

The Household

171 Among both the Waurá and the Kamayurá the extended family occupied its own house, and the head of the lineage was considered a sub-chief of the village.² Such unilocal, co-resident and extended family groupings, which were typical among tribes of the upper Xingú, were absent in the Trumai village.

592 Consanguineally close male relatives usually formed co-resident units, but these nuclei of kinsmen were very small and did not constitute an entire household. Furthermore, they were related to each other through male or female lines. Due to village patrilocality, there was a tendency for patrilineally related males to live together, but this did not result in the establishment of a patrilineal lineage for several reasons. Among them the high death rate was very important.

592 Maibu's house illustrates the eclectic nature of the Trumai household. Four nuclear families, totaling fourteen people, lived in it. Hanging their hammocks from one of the two center posts were Katauka, his son Kamkuti, his brother's son Autzuki, and another brother's son and his wife. At the opposite end of the house were Maibu and his wife, the wife's son by Maibu's deceased brother, Maibu's sister Ayenuke, Makurawa, a classificatory sister's son, and Makurawa's wife and their three children. Although everyone in the household was related, bonds were closer between those people who hung their hammocks from the same post.

589 Despite the fact that the household, as a unit, had no specific functions, it established the framework within which certain interpersonal dependencies were worked out. Bride-capture, intertribal warfare, divorce, and early death caused a significant proportion of the Trumai to be temporarily or permanently without mates. This disadvantage was

[177] ¹ The trade game was possibly borrowed from the Bakairi, as its existence among this group has been reported by Oberg (1953, p. 73). However, craft specialization and trade on the upper Xingú predates the Indian post. Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 198, 207.

² De Lima (1950, p. 9.) reports this arrangement among the Waurá, and Oberg (1953, p. 45.) adds that the position of house chief tends to pass in the male line in the Kamayurá village.

551 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-
605 cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal con-
607 nections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 The maternal uncle in Trumai society was in no sense a disciplinarian.
522 Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child.
[861] On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon
[431] the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they
were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent
and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing
and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of
the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and
Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began
to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately
stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die,
I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty.
Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta*'s interests in the
absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he
supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumai and
[437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son.
[171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited
another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older
man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo
[835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 The Trumai had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs,
624 Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that
Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any
[988] chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high
status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man.
Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of
chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's
advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither
man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's
circle than others.

622 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumai to carry out
537 those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community
as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

756 still too young to "see," but that when he was older he would learn, since his father was a shaman. Aloari said that he, too, would learn when he was old, as would his son Tsirikoan. Matiwana would instruct Aloari and would receive a payment for this tutelage. Indicative of a possible looseness of inheritance was the fact that Matiwana's son Yati was nowhere mentioned as a prospective shaman.

787 Dreams were considered to be a way of "seeing" while sleeping. This was known as *ohltaxer*. Dreams were taken seriously, at least by the dreamer. Aloari fully believed that the Waurá would come after he had dreamed it. And Maibu was convinced that he should make the trip to the Indian post on the Paranatinga River because he had dreamed that Climaco, the agent, liked him very much and would give him a rifle. [75L] However, individual dreams were not a matter of community concern or interest. Village action was taken on the basis of shamanistic "seeing" only.

Witchcraft

754 The only known sorcerer in the Trumai village was Oirupa, the brother-in-law of Aloari. Oirupa was said by one man to have learned [177] witchcraft (*okei*) from the Nahukwa, who, with the other Cariban tribes, [156] were dreaded for their black magic. Oirupa's knowledge made him one of the most hated men in the village, but no action was taken against him [683] for fear of incurring his enmity. Also, there have been no reports of the [171] execution of sorcerers in the upper Xingú, and, from all indications, this mode of retaliation is not customary.

753 When someone fell ill and witchcraft was suspected, the guilt was usually imputed to a neighboring tribe. It was said that the Trumai 754 had to leave their old village site near the Kamayurá because the latter 648 were killing them off with witchcraft. Sorcery was probably often practiced against other groups by the Trumai, and the converse was always feared. Oirupa refused to speak above a whisper one night when the Auetí were said to be using black magic on the Trumai.

It was Quain's belief that witchcraft was a substitute for open violence among the people of the area; significantly, witchcraft was not practiced by the people of the upper Xingú against the Suyá and other hostile [154] tribes outside the Basin.⁴ Intertribal black magic functioned as a check [626] upon violence within the village as well. Certainly, it was more conducive to social order to attribute sorcery to another tribe than to some member of the small and already disrupted Trumai community.

⁴ Cf. Galvão 1949; Oberg 1953.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted. 753 754 [52]

Trumai concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumai knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed. 753 [761] 754 [123]

The Trumai called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means. 753 778 [515]

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm. 278 757

The Trumai were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction. 752 [164] 462 [759]

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jav'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great 755 [171] 276

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Matiwana, who was in charge of the proceedings, was seated somewhere near the center; Maibu, the husband of the sick woman, at one end of the line. Matiwana was chanting while the others merely shouted words at irregular intervals. Each man held a rattle in one hand and a branch with leaves in the other, except for two who held a branch in each hand. Approaching Matavitea's hammock in succession, and, with arms extended, each stamped on his heels, causing his rattle and leaves to shake, as he moved up and down the length of the sick woman's body several times. This done, he passed the rattle and leaves from her head to her feet, and then clapped the two objects together so as to suggest that he was brushing off something undesirable. He repeated this sequence two to four times, and before taking his seat, he carefully picked up all the leaves that had fallen to the floor.

While awaiting their turns, the other men rubbed their rattles against their forearms and kept up a steady, disorganized chant. They also smoked, but this apparently was not part of the ceremony.

Turns started at one end of the line and, when the other end was reached, the next series began there. A pause was observed between each series. Some variation was to be noted. One man passed his leaves under Matavitea's hammock, while another gave special attention to her head. Maibu, during one turn, sucked in the area of her navel.

Quain noted that during the ceremony "there was an amazing lack of affective tension. The men seemed inattentive and disinterested." [24] He was able to ask questions about the ceremony while it was going on, for not everyone participated. Paradoxically, one of the active performers was Oirupa, who was suspected of having brought about Matavitea's condition through witchcraft.

The Ole Ceremony

In the Trumai village no ritual was more important or consumed more time than the *ole* (manioc) ceremony.⁵ Its purpose was essentially to insure an abundant manioc crop, and much of the symbolism involved was clearly oriented around the concept of fertility. The supernatural techniques that were employed were practiced almost daily from the middle of August to the end of September. (It will be remembered that planting lasted from mid-September until early October.) The whole ceremony was loosely knit. After it started it reached no special climax,

⁵ Oberg (1963, p. 56) describes a Kamayurá ceremony which also takes place at the beginning of the rainy season and, in form, closely resembles the Trumai *ole* ritual. He calls it, however, the *Kwaróp*, a "special ceremony in commemoration of the dead," and states that the Kamayurá manioc ceremony was not held during his stay in the field. If the ceremonies observed by Quain in the Trumai village and by Oberg among the Kamayurá are not the same, a great similarity of ritual forms for different religious purposes is indicated.

Deities and Mythology

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[114] The Trumai were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of the spirit owners of animal, plant, and fish species that figure so prominently in the Kamayurá belief system, nor does he speak of the "ole spirits" attributed to the Trumai by Oberg.⁶ Beliefs, which are a more covert part of culture, are particularly difficult for an ethnographer who lacks familiarity with the language to learn about, and it is understandable that Quain's notes are weak on this point.

771 Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanistic curing is considered a magical practice. No objects, such as charms or amulets, were thought to have a magical effect, and the already discarded ceremonial objects were the only inanimate items that could be said to have some inherent religious value. In short, the day-to-day world of the Trumai was little influenced by extra-corporeal forces, or personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the "grandfathers of all the Trumai."

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[101] With some variation the mythology of the Trumai was quite similar to that of the Kamayurá. The most important of the Trumai creation deities was Sun (Atehle). This was not the visible, celestial sun. The Trumai explained that the celestial sun was only the *aton* (pet), of the real Sun, who was important in all the creation myths. Sun no longer actively intervened in life, but in the days of the creation he was an anthropomorphic personage having great supernatural powers. Sun's mother was the wife of Panther (Fetde), who appears in the tales of the after life. This woman, in turn, was the daughter of Wamutsini, or Grandfather. The latter had an important part in the creation, for he was the original deity from whom the other supernaturals sprang. Wamutsini's daughter was not important in these stories.

The identity and character of Moon were ill-defined. At one time Moon was in the heavens with Sun, who, however, became angry with him and cast him out to his present isolated position. Moon was once eaten by Awalanaxe, a fish. Sun, upon learning of this, made a fishhook, caught Awalanaxe, and disembowelled him. Moon was found inside quite chewed up, but Sun molded him back into shape. A fly then crawled up the nostril of the unconscious Moon causing him to sneeze. He thought that he had merely been asleep, but Sun explained that he had been eaten.

Moon's sex was highly ambivalent, being a male in some tales and a female in others. He was not, however, important as a creator. Awalanaxe appeared frequently in the mythology as did Wakpanehe, another fish.

⁶ Oberg 1963, p. 54.

857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tairikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

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[858] The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tairikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

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[171] Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy came to the Trumai village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumai men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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THE LIFE CYCLE

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always used to treat the wounds made by scraping. Jawaku walked away in a hurt and angry mood, his body covered with blood. 881
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A few days later, in recognition of his advancement, Jawaku made the afternoon serving of food to the assembled men, a custom associated with the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. A further sign of his new position was the drinking of an herbaceous emetic before eating the first *pigui* fruit. Only boys who had not yet had their stomachs scraped could eat *pigui* without first taking the medicine. [264] [278]

One important purpose of body-scraping, the Trumai thought, was to make the boy grow and give him strength. For this reason even the adult males occasionally scraped their arms. The scars themselves were very much admired. Of still greater value was the size of the muscles of the arms, chest, shoulder, and back of the neck, which the Trumai believed to be the result of the scraping. 881
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Another method of inducing growth was by drinking medicines made from herbs. All of the upper Xingú peoples were said to know of these preparations. The Suyá were said to have learned to make them also, but not the Yuruna. Adults drank these medicines, but they were especially important during the final phase of the puberty rites. 881
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The perforation of the ear lobes was a distinct and separate part of the cycle of puberty rites, and the only one in which the boys went through a prescribed phase as a group. This observance took place during the equinoctial festive period which follows the rainy season and involved intertribal participation. At the next dry season festival, Quain was told, all the boys would have their ears pierced. Jawaku's ears, however, had been pierced before, whereas Autauki, who was older and had entered the puberty cycle earlier, had not yet had his ears perforated. Manifestly, the time of the first perforation varied. 881
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At the first piercing the young boy added the name of his mother's father to the name of his paternal grandfather, which he had been given previously. This was also an occasion for scarifying the arms. [553]

Quain was informed that ear-piercing was done by all the upper Xingú area tribes. The Suyá, in common with other Gé-speaking peoples, made very large, and to the Trumai, very unsightly, perforations in the lobes. Two Trumai men who had been Suyá captives had such perforations and also pierced lower lips. The latter condition explained satisfactorily to the Trumai why the Suyá "cannot speak properly." [171] [826] [186]

The puberty ceremonies were climaxed by a final series of tests of strength and courage: wrestling with a small anaconda, a subsequent intensive drinking of *okeis*, and further body-scraping. After this the boy was kept in seclusion until his ears were again pierced. [866]

Both Jawaku and Autauki were at this stage. One day a snake was located in the lagoon, and Jawaku was urged to go after it. He and Makurawa ran through the brush to the lagoon and searched for it along 881
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cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches. 765 [587]

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.⁴ Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumai or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted. 517 437 524 526 648 [171]

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down. 526 [302]

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men. 352 [652]

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

⁴ Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either
[152] contestant to concede defeat.⁵ The wrestlers were often pushed around
considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions
of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumai men
to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that
the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumai women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá
526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region
186 that Trumai women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women.
648 Even the Trumai men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama-
yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval
of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá
female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and
went through other provocative motions. He also described how they
had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him
was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jak-
walu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumai village who
could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also
practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal
visits.

574 The Trumai women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors
535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on
which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies
when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning,
[534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con-
[196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together.
Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumai enjoyed singing.
They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The re-
quests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children.
[123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance
by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of
571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served
occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or
more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the
case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped
and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter
expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition
and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often
done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

⁵ This may be true only of bouts between Trumai, as Oberg (1963, p. 89) notes
that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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648 in the Trumai community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.¹

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162 It might be expected that the Trumai could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were taking a heavy toll in the Trumai village.

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847 The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,² and these factors may well have been present in the Trumai situation. The long post-natal taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.³

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154 But among the Trumai there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumai were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumai found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumai could have increased their food supply.

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226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumai fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

¹ Oberg 1953, p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³ Wagley 1940.

APPENDIX

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post-natal sexual taboos is a serious social problem. A large group of not very pretty bachelors must use the woman with ringworm or the Suyá captive, whose present marriage is considered dishonorable. These women have no brothers or fathers. In contrast with Karajá, there is no stylized homosexuality. Yet the complete freedom of sexual play results in activities which might be considered overt homosexuality. But to the Trumai such activity has little emotional content. It does not seem to set up special personal relationships.

"Women are in constant fear of attack. Yet a wife tyrannizes her husband by withholding her favors and pulling the hair of anyone whom she suspects her husband has used sexually. Between married people, sex occurs at night — preferably when everyone else is asleep — or while going to the forest on various gathering tasks. A man and his wife engage in many things together, such as afternoon relaxation, fishing, and gardening. There is companionship even between those spouses among whom the wife is much older and no longer of interest to the man sexually.

"Between themselves, the men are extremely individualistic. Cooperation rarely exceeds kin limits even at the explicit order of the chief. Only when outsiders are present do men band together in a mock display of solid cooperation.... There is only one old man, who is about seventy — all others are under 45 All death is murder. Nobody expects to live longer than the next rainy season. Men always carry bows and arrows for protection. Shamans keep the village in constant fear of attack from the Suyá or Kamayurá. . . . There are imaginary attacks quite often. Men gather in terror at the center of the village — the most exposed spot — and wait to be shot at from the dark bushes at the margin of the village. . . .

"Authority is lax. The patrilineally hereditary chief does no work and is a parasite on his household. He is self-conscious of the rank of his wife whose marriage has elevated her. He lounges in his hammock, but it is his duty to orate from the center of the village at night and sometimes in the morning, urging the men to undertake group projects. He is the only man who has the courage to be an executive. This contrasts with the Kamayurá where there are several chiefs who, uniquely in their culture, are shy and ashamed to speak and whose orders must be referred through special talkers. It also contrasts with the Karajá where the chief is the best worker When the season changes, the Trumai chief urges the people to engage in the new work, which they would do anyway. An example of the complete independence of spirit is illustrated by the two brothers who would not help the brother-in-law of one build the house in which they all were living, because they thought the mosquitoes would be bad in that location during the rainy season. The brother-in-law built the tremendous house all by himself — the two brothers lived comfortably in it.

/195 cont. /

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
 237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
 445 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
 283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaf wore around the waist
 276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
 415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
 272 containing insipid, pasty mingau² which was just as poor as the
 mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaf are on a higher
 level than the Bakaif; as far as their body structure is concerned,
 I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in
 size they did not differ from the Bakaif and Kustenaü. The fact
 that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
 291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
 825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- praputium
filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt
 /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans
 in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may
 also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaf is, of course,
 inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but
 to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We
 are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and
 bid the Kuliseu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from
 the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this
 far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about
 transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine
 ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaf fled to land).
 Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective
 canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and ex-
 cellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
 171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaif;
 one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
 000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile
 Castro's craft has also been brought home.

^ [a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

8 /158 cont. /

197 The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes
101 and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes,
131 the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic
for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the
Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the
Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser
Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the
Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have
come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing
destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary
of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately
only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edi-
tion, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove
earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the
Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation
that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each
other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had
allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be
tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

B
[171] On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image
of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú,
Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly
asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who
had taken several Mehinakú women.

B
101 Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes
171 of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the
197 number of villages in parentheses):
361

Karaiben: Bakaíri (8), Nahuquá (9);

Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);

Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetó (1);

Isolated: Trumai (2).

B
101 /159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes,"
171 which correspond merely to nine different independent villages,
197 we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú to-
gether as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same
idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

B /183 cont./

*171 We found pieces of stalks, pieces of bark, seed kernels,
301 and berries of the most diverse kinds: nut beads from the large
824 and the small tucum palm, fruits of a climbing plant, of a
campo tree takipé, of a plant called (Bakaírf) udayáki, red
and black seeds of Papilionaceae, of mamona-Ricinus, tonka
beans (Dipteryx odorata), among the Auetö gourd seeds and
almeisca kernels, and even a small, bottle-shaped gourd seven
centimeters long.

B Among the Yaulapiti, Trumai, and, coming from them,
*171 among their neighbors, stone chains were frequent: pierced
301 disks and cylinders which the Nahuquá imitated in the amber-
like jatobá resin and in clay. It was the diorite of the stone
• 171 axes and throwing-stick arrows /Wurfholz-Pfeile/; it was
301 pierced with the stone chip fastened to the twirling stick and
B the addition of sand. Small, pear-shaped stones, such as go with
[321] the darts /Wurfpfeilen/, are popularly hung on children's chains
by the Mehinakú and Auetö.

Thus there were distinct differences in the material,
which were probably, as is certainly the case with the stones,
locally conditioned. All chains made of white shell pieces
went back to the Bakaírf, all those of red to the Nahuquá, all
those made of stones to the Trumai or Yaulapiti.

B /184/ Animal material was found everywhere. There
*171 were horn beads and bone beads, the latter also in the form of
301 little rods; they were sometimes strung on individually, some-
237 times joined for whole chains, especially monkey teeth and
T jaguar teeth. Cf. the illustration of the Auetö chief, page 90.
171 Among the Nahuquá we procured a chain with jaguar teeth
301 and small, colored feathers. The Trumai prized capybara
237 teeth. Among the Mehinakú in particular there was an abun-
dance of children's ornaments, which were hung in bunches on
infants; besides the others, monkey teeth in particular, teeth
of the jaguaririca (Felis mitis), fish vertebrae, bones of the
bagadú fish, once a huge, black beetle-horn. Also claws or
hoofs of the tapir (Kamayurá), jaguar, and deer.

B /195 cont./

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83/ naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

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136/ If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns. More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaf, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

*The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

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751/ Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaf will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

B /196 cont./

Their domestic tasks

*191 have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men,
136 and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the
516 next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakairi from the second village
751 shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting
or squatting.

B
*191 In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous
291 membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would
136 probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say,
751 the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized
that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous mem-
brane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life,
since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became
more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescient, and as
a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local con-
ditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults
of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there
was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in
this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly
furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they
began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however,
cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indis-
pensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig.
19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not
have been removed more often, especially at night in the ham-
mock? Why should the young men have been so intent on train-
ing the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made
one day about wearing the uluris or the cuffs? The connections
with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

B
*191 In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty.
291 Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian
841 thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous
medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among
most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions,
191 and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly re-
291 moved the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a
841 cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumai women --

B /198 cont./

*171 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in
291 the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
841 the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a
T support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
●171 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
291 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted
841 the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of
blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or
similar loose hangings.



Fig. 19. Squatting Bakairi.

000 similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
*171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to
the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately,
I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I
saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

/203 cont./

500 proper, we started first with the primitive peoples, we should not fail to recognize that there is Paleolithic as well as Neolithic work among them even today, depending on the kind of stone available, the material provided from another quarter, and the technical purposes present. We should see that the negative term "metal-less" is, of course, appropriate, but that the positive name "Stone Age" can be very unfortunate. We should also consider the case where man has no stones at all or unsuitable ones and still makes excellent tools and weapons. As an unprejudiced observer, it would scarcely have occurred to me to maintain that the Schingú Indians are living in the "Stone Age."

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It is certainly true that their most difficult accomplishments -- clearing the forest, building houses, building canoes, making stools, and the like -- go back to the stone ax. But the various tribes were entirely dependent on one source, which was in the possession of the Trumai. Neither the Bakaíri nor the Nahuquá nor the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ and their relatives, nor the Auetó nor Kamayurá /Camayura/ had stone axes of their own manufacture. Their sandstone was not suitable for axes. I have asserted exactly the same thing about the former times of the docile Bakaíri of the Paranatinga: in this region the Kayabi /Cayabi/ had a monopoly on the stone axes; the neighboring Bakaíri were obliged to get them from them, later their deadly enemies. The tribes of the Batovy, Kulisehu, and Kuluéne obtained their stone axes from the Trumai (the Suyá living on the main river had some of their own). Thus, the stone ax is presented to us here as an import article.

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In answer to my inquiries, I was told that the stones were found "along a brook in the sand." The material has been identified by Herr Professor Arzruni /204/ of Aachen as diabase, a rock consisting of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and magnetite, in which are



Fig. 20.
Stone ax.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown
in the original illustration/.

/204 cont./

embedded individual crystals of olivine and quite a number of quartz granules. The blades, 11-21 centimeters long, are usually evenly cylindrical, but some are round in the center like a roller, taper toward the rear, and have a broad front end with a bow-shaped cutting edge. Without any lashing, they fit into a wooden handle 0.5 meters long on the average, which consists of a cylindrical upper piece bored crosswise and a thinner handle set off from this like a reed stalk from its spike. The stone points inserted in the darts and the ornamental stones of the neck chains are made of the same diabase. The Trumai ground the blades to a point on their stones and bored the ornamental stones; besides them, only the neighboring Yaulapiti did this. The other tribes simply sharpened on the river sandstone the axes that became dull. Shells and stones were bored with a twirl-borer. A triangular, hard splinter of stone was clamped to a small staff, and, to be sure, at both ends so that one could alternate them, and was secured by cord lashing. The little staff was almost half a meter long and was twirled between the hands. If stone was to be bored, sand was added. This is all the Indians achieved in the working of stone; they had

Fig. 21.

Twirl-borer:*

(1/2 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

*The twirl-staff is represented discontinuously.

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[317]

B
[411]
[301]

B
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B
*171
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B /229 cont./

*171
411
[237] laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, lashing it, and covering it with resin.

Sometimes a pierced, hollow tucum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whirring or whistling is heard. /230/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish; those with barbs are exclusively fish arrows. Arrows with sawlike notched wooden points do not occur on the Schingú except among the Yauruá, whom we regard as a southern group of the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/.

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[284] The Suyá and Trumai had arrows with long pointed bamboo knives for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 36 millimeters wide, knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

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[237] The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumference; each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicular on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agutí tooth and enlarged with a pointed buriti splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow; the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the
B
[285] feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutung (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

B /231 cont./

* *171*
411 Indians practice on the village plaza and, as a target, plant a shaft which bears at the top a cylindrical or conical piece of cork wood.

• *171*
411 The throwing board, in our case, where there is no "board" often called a throwing stick, * is now a rare weapon which was

* For our case the best expression would be "arrow thrower." "Throwing stick" too easily gives rise to confusion with sticks that are thrown.

found among only the two Tupí tribes, the Kamayurá /Camayura/ and Auetō, and among the Trumai. It was the greatest ethnological surprise of our journey. Ehrenreich then also came across it among the Karayá on the Araguay. Replaced by the bow, it has remained in active use only among the wood-poor Eskimo. The North American Indians, as far as is known, were not familiar with it; among the ancient Mexicans and among the Maya, as well as among the inhabitants of Colombia, it appears in limited use, though a wider distribution in early times may be inferred; it is regarded as the weapon of the Inca warriors; and finally we see individual examples of it among South American primitive peoples, especially Tupís, on the high Amazon as well as in eastern Brazil. Among our tribes, too, the throwing stick had lost its real importance, or at least was on the point of losing it. Nevertheless, in every house there were more throwing boards than bows; the Indians said that they never used the weapon any more for hunting, to be sure, but certainly in war. In 1884, when the Trumai appeared before our camp, they had no throwing boards with them; the stone balls with which the darts are equipped for serious use were not present in any number among the Auetō and Kamayurá; they, too, had to get them from the Trumai, and thus, for the Tupí tribes at any rate, if only because of their geographical location, the days of the throwing board are numbered. As a sporting weapon, however, it still enjoys great esteem and assiduous use; in connection with the dance, I shall also have to mention the throwing-board dance, which portrays being wounded in battle.

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[526]
[535]

/231 cont./

171 in battle. The purpose of the throwing board is /232/ to throw
411 a stone-weighted arrow, or, if one wishes, a more graceful spear,
[824] with great force. The type present on the Schingú is a thin,
smooth stick of hard palm wood about 70 centimeters long, which
widens at the front end into a holding plate provided with a hole
and bears a small hook at the other, rear end. In other words, no
board and no sign of a groove. Cf. Figures 28 /see p. 241/ and
6, p. 91.

The arrow is set in on the barb at the back, the index finger
is stuck through the hole of the holding plate, while the other
fingers grasp the plate and the arrow; thus, the rear part of the
arrow lies securely against the throwing board, is lifted with a
powerful swing, the throwing stick describes an arc forward and
upward and with this lever motion sends out the arrow so "that it
[824] positively whizzes." The throwing boards are made of light or
[237] dark palm wood, /Fig. 28 appears here/ they are nicely smoothed,
and some of them give an impression of elegance, especially if
a small bunch of colored feathers hangs down from the barb cord.
The plate has a width of about five centimeters in front, six
centimeters in the rear, and a length of 15 centimeters; it is
cut biconcave, so that the hand grasps it securely. The shaft is
[284] about four times as long. The barb on which the dart is set, a
bone among the Karayá, is here a little stick, two and a half
centimeters long, lashed on diagonally with cotton thread. There
were throwing boards in small sizes for children.

The reed thrown by our Indians is not a spear, but a real ubá
arrow and is also called an arrow by them /in this work it is
called arrow (Pfeil) or dart (Wurfpfeil). Only the feathering is
usually more carelessly worked and not arranged spirally. Bone
points and sharp wooden points do not occur. The characteristic
thing about the dart is the opposite -- a possibility not provided for
in the German language, it seems -- a "blunt point." /233/ In
this respect, too, the characteristic of the "spear" is lacking.

[284] The dart does not spear and stab, but shatters with a heavy blow.
Inserted into the shaft, lashed with string, and smeared with wax
were heavy stone or wood points. The stones either conical, like

/258 cont./

171 No. 2 in the accompanying figure or pear-shaped, like No. 3. Only a
411 small part of the stone peeked out of the wax covering; cf. No. 9. The
wooden points had different forms, spherical or, corresponding to the
stone pear, with a long stem to be shoved into the shaft: No. 1, or
(the common form) Nos. 4 and 10, a cylindrical piece that tapered at
the bottom for insertion -- in No. 11 also one with a pointed projection,
[531] furthermore a knob, No. 12, and a fork, No. 8. In Figure 6 on
page 91, the center arrow bears a long, narrow wooden cone which
is decorated with a long black linear or dot design on a white background.



Fig. 28. Throwing board (1/13 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/) and the tips of the darts.

already the purely decorative weapon for the dance. Many darts bore
[824] only wax knobs. Finally, we see in Nos. 6 and 7 one or two tucum
nuts (*Astrocaryum*) set on in the manner of the noise-making arrows,
and in No. 5 a fist-size tucum nut on two reed shafts lashed together.

[192] The throwing board gets its name from the tucum palm: yauarí.
It is not unusual for the plant that furnishes the material to provide
the name for the implement as well; the Kamayurá added a more
specific identification, yauarí amomoáp, which means (amo, far;
mo, causative; ap, to break apart, to wound) "tucum shattering far
away." Apollo amomoáp, the one hitting far away. In a legend

/233 cont. /

[17] which Ehrenreich recorded among the Karayá, there are monkeys
[41] who, sitting in a tree, kill people with darts. This agrees to a certain extent with what the Indians told me, the throwing board is good to use in the forest. Thus, in rapid pursuit between the trees, one can ready the throwing board to hurl the stone arrow, but cannot hold the bow, requiring two hands for pulling, ready for shooting and seize one of the brief moments during which the fleeing target loses the cover of trunks and underbrush. The force with which the dart whizzes off and hits is far greater than one expects. The weapon has one tremendous disadvantage compared to the bow, in that it cannot be used upward; one cannot bring down a bird with it from the treetop. Moreover, it distinguishes itself very much to its disfavor by its uselessness for killing fish. In short, it is not a hunting weapon and, even if the darts were provided with points that would penetrate the skin, would be one only to a limited extent for larger animals; it is decidedly a weapon of war and is designated only as such. It had its value, along with the bow, when there was war, suitable stones, and forest. If it is called a preliminary stage of the bow, one should remember that it does not in any way help us to solve the mystery of its origin, for the essential thing about the bow is its resilient force, both that of the wood and that of the bowstring.

/234/ Clubs were used only by the Suyá and the Trumai. The one of the Suyá, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, illustration page 326 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 166/, was flat, one and a third to almost one and a half meters long, with an oval upper piece that was decorated with shell eyes, an elegant weapon of brownish black seriba palm wood that shone as though polished. The Trumai club is of similar shape, smaller, clumsier, and not of artistic workmanship. We /Fig. 29 appears here/ also acquired only one of these on the second expedition. On the other hand, the Trumai, and like the Kamayurá, had no dance clubs, of which I shall speak later. Thus here, too, as in the case of the throwing board, the phenomenon of the old weapon deteriorating into a plaything. Among the Kamayurá we found, besides a Suyá club, one attributed to the Yarumá, which

T /234 cont./

- 171 corresponded exactly to the Karayá club found among the Yuruna
411 in 1884, a dark brown staff chamfered vertically all around,
sharply grooved, lopped off bluntly at top and bottom, with a

smooth intermediate piece for the hand. The Yuruna in that case, and the Kamayurá here, had transformed the murder weapon into a peaceful walking stick. One must admit that the defense weapons of the men on the Kulisehu do not point to warlike habits.

The canoes are commonly made from the bark of the jatobá, as I described it in the case of our vessels. See Plates 10 and 11 /see pages 109 and 121/. A Bakaírf canoe measured in 1884 had the following measurements: length eight meters, width in the center 64 centimeters on top, 56 centimeters below, depth 24 centimeters, width of stern 63 centimeters, thickness of bark 11 to 21 millimeters. On our second journey we saw longer specimens, and the ark which we acquired among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ was considerably wider, was, in fact, unique in its corpulence. The Bakaírf canoes that had to travel in the shallower river bed strewn with stones were somewhat shallower than those farther downstream. Among the Yaulapiri the rim was turned over slightly.



Fig. 29. Bakaírf oar.

(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The oar, somewhat over a meter long, consisted of a slightly hollowed-out blade 60 centimeters long and ten centimeters wide.

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[824]

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[531]

A /267 cont./

531 No. 3 are armored fish, akarā. They have the same shape as
 825 the nuki fish of the Bakaīf, No. 8 on Plate 20 /see p. 280/, so
 they are perhaps also a species of cascudos. Now, the armored
 sheatfish do not have a rhomboid form like the mereschu, but are
 elongated. Since we also see the pakū, likewise not rhomboidal,
 as a rhombus, and since even Nos. 14 and 15 of Plate 21 /see
 p. 281/, the non-schematically drawn fish, look slightly more
 rhomboid than corresponds with reality, we realize that the fish
 body in any stylization is meant to be a rhombus, whether or not
 this is appropriate for the species in question, as it actually is
 only for the mereschu, applied everywhere with quite overwhelm-
 ing preference. For more detailed characterization there are
 worked in, in the case of the pakū, the dots, and, in the case
 of the armored sheatfish, the sharply contrasted, hard scales,
 which are polygonal, but which in the larger specimens appear
 as slightly overlapping triangles (cf. Brehm, Fische /Fish/
 p. 144, illustration).

A
 531 In No. 2 we see the uluri triangles, which among the Auetō,
 825 too, are named with the word corresponding to the women's tri-
 (291) angle (umpām). It is a great pity that we could not have met the
 T
 (291) Trumai under peaceful circumstances, for they are the only ones
 (191) whose women wear a bast band; to be sure, they have borrowed
 531 so much from their neighbors that they may also have the
 women's triangle in their ornamentation. In the flute house of the
 A
 (345) Auetō there was a rather long frieze under the vault of the roof,
 where a whole series of umpams or uluris had been painted in black
 on narrow strips of light wood.

A
 531 Now for No. 1. Two rows of triangles, one above the other,
 825 exactly like the uluris, but above the triangles there runs a zigzag
 line bordering the upper sides, which never occurs in the case of
 the uluris. These are suddenly bats, tatsiá of the Auetō, and, to
 be sure, tatsiá pevú, "level," "flat bats." In like manner, bats
 in vertical position are the same triangles which horizontally in
 No. 2 we must acknowledge as uluris; they even lack the accom-
 panying zigzag line of No. 1, but they are designated as hanging
 bats. The semímo, the bats of the Bakaīf, on the third back-stick

Trumai SP23
Wauka SP18
Mehinaku
Aueti SP6
Kamayura

/287 cont./

chiefly in their beaks; that of the wood ibis is curved ibis-like.
The largest and handsomest birds were preferably portrayed.
Thus, among the Mehinakú, we found a magnificent king-
vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, or red urubu. The red warts



Fig. 82. Tujujú stool. Kamayurá. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration.

which this splendid predatory bird has between its beak and its eyes were carefully carved. The Trumai stool illustrated here (Fig. 84 /see p. 326/) is supposed to represent the white urubu; it lacks the warts. Strangely enough, it was given two necks



Fig. 83. Wood-ibis stool. Mehinakú. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

and heads, so we see here the chief's chair in the form of a double eagle; they are supposed to be male and female. By contrast, the /288/ the depression in the back-plate is somewhat prosaic; it serves as a bowl for crushing and mixing the dyeing resin. In

[Text continues on p. 327]

/317 cont./

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● [171] as for straw mats. Some /318/ of the plaited masks are of the same type as among the Auetō and Kamayurá, but usually the entire surface of the texture is covered with the black mereschu design on a white background, in one case with horizontal rhombuses and without neck stripe or center stripe, while on others the latter is reduced to a black line. /Figs. 116 and 117 appear here./

Eyes and nose are usually three equal-sized lumps of wax next to one another in a row and knotted on with a piece of buriti fiber. On only one mask is a pair of bright shell disks pressed on the eye-lumps. The mouth is a black wax ring that looks like a pessary and so large that nose and mouth have room in it. All the facial parts are confined to the upper half, in fact the upper third, of the oval.

On a number of masks the painting is simply a black background with a red center stripe or a red background with a black center stripe in which nose and mouth are placed or which extends only to the mouth.

/319/ In the case of three masks, however, there is more. On No. 1: black background, white center stripe accompanied by a white line on either side; touching it is the triangular cheek part which consists of a red and a white stripe, the black background stripe, and a red border triangle. The mask reminds one very much of the first wax mask of the Auetō, Fig. 107 /see p. 360/. No. 2: black /Fig. 118 appears here/ background, red center stripe, two white border triangles on either side, outlined by a white zigzag line. No. 3: white background on the outside and top, inside a black background the width of the eyes and to a height to include the eyes, with a red center stripe up to the mouth ring.

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* 171
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535 II. Common Origin of the Masks and the Mereschu Design.

We have no difficulty understanding the Bakaírf who put on animal figures plaited out of straw and heads of animal skins, but we cannot help but find it strange that there are facial parts of human form on the animal masks. One would expect a dove

[Text Continues on P. 371]

/324 cont./

A
535 "song," and therefore their chief dance was called yauarí-maraká. One man also gave a strange performance by dancing bent over and rubbing two arrows over the ground, a woman behind him: kurukú he.

A
533 The women, kunyá, who are, of course, regarded as the best booty, were often mentioned in the songs. In the dance pantomime, especially during the amurikumá dance, it was often made clear that the women were handing over fish. The dances start early in the morning and last until sunset.

T
M
535 Dance clubs, similar to the one of the Kamayurá, illustrated, in part with plaiting prettily around them, were also found among the Trumai. Among the Auetō we obtained a dance

ornament, the shape of which was reminiscent of the horsetail of a drum major: from a piece of hoop, on either side and in the center, hung tails of burití fibers almost half a meter long.

A
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412 For the dance with hūvát masks among the Kamayurá there were two staffs, haéaré, 80 centimeters long, at the tip of which the set of teeth of a dogfish was plaited into a /325/ triangular attachment in such a way that the two long pointed teeth, the favorite boring and cutting instruments of the Indian, stuck out at the top.

B
#171
535 As may be seen, the dance has its psychological development. It clearly reflects the progress of culture. In the beginning the animal is presented in pantomime, its voice is imitated, and its shape copied in the straw masquerade; the masking art with its fertile motifs for all painting develops from the fish net -- here the implement with its technique has already become the chief focus of interest as over against the animal figure. The throwing



Fig. 120.

Dogfish dance-staff.
Kamayurá. (1/6 nat.
size /as shown in the
original illustration/.)

B /333 cont. /

* 171 How important good relations with neighboring tribes must
439 be becomes clear from the, one might almost say, necessity of
T barter. One tribe is zôto, master of one article, the other of
171 another. I have given the most important information about this
439 in detail on pages 199, 209, 216. The Bakaïrf had as their
specialty the neck chains with white rectangular pieces of shell,
shell beads, urucú, cotton thread, and hammocks; the Nahuquá,
gourds, as well as chains with red pieces of shell and tucum-
beads; the Mehinakú and their relatives, pots and fine cotton
thread; the Trumaf and Suyá, stone axes and tobacco; the
Trumai and possibly also the Yaulapiti, chains with pierced
stones. The Trumaf salt prepared from bamboo ashes was also
popular among other tribes. These were all articles of trade.
Some of them traveled the great distance from the Bakaïrf to
the Suyá, going from tribe to tribe. The Suyá traded with the
Kamayurá, the latter with the potter tribes, among whom the
Mehinakú had the closest association with the Nahuquá, and the
Kustenaú with the Bakaïrf of the Batovy. The uppermost Bakaïrf
of the Kulisehu obtained their Suyá stone axes and Kustenaú pots
from their Batovy relatives, and the Bakaïrf of the third Kulisehu
village from the Nahuquá, with whom they maintained close
B relations. In 1884, when we had given the Bakaïrf on the Batovy
[437] some of our Karaiben things, the chief of the first village took
advantage of the favorable trade outlook and set out on a business
trip to the lower region of the Kulisehu; in this way tribes who
were not neighbors occasionally also had trade relations. The
articles traded by the Suyá for stone-axes are hammocks, shell
chains, arara feathers, and pots.

B Although there was an old and necessary barter-trade, neverthe-
* 171 less the concept of value was lacking, at least to a certain extent.
439 The person arriving brought along this or that and delivered it
when he was served at the reception. He was given the desired
return gift in smaller quantities at the reception, in larger amounts
when he took his leave. In Maigéri we experienced a typical
example upon our departure, cf. page 125; we were made to
sit down and then received a basket of flour. Thus, the docile

/405 cont./

000 a whole into its halves. Objects furnish the empirical limit of the "2" gesture. Dependence on sense of touch. Confirmation by etymology.

B
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[28]

The art of counting was the least developed among the Bakaïrf /Bacairi/. With regard to the other tribes I shall limit myself to a few remarks, since I am giving the numbers in the word list /omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 524-547/.

B
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802

All tribes counted the fingers of both hands first and then the toes of both feet. With the exception of the Bakaïrf, they commenced with the thumb of the right hand, counted up to 5 on the fingers, went over to the thumb of the left hand, counted up to 10 here, and repeated the procedure in exactly the same way for the feet.

If one regards the number words in terms of their formation, one observes among all the tribes that they have separate words for 1, 2, 3, with the exception of the Bakaïrf, whom I shall ignore for the time being, and the Trumaf, for whom, however, the records contain much that is uncertain; among the Trumaf the word for 2, hurs, is contained in the one for 3, hurstamé. On the other hand, the Trumaf and, besides them, only the Waurá (uncertain) and the Kamayurá /Camayura/ have an entirely new word for 4, whereas among all the others 4 is represented by 2 altered by an addition.

For 5 the Trumaf and the Auetó have a new word that has nothing to do with "hand." Among all the others, always with the exception of the Bakaïrf, "hand" is contained in the 5. The Kamayurá say "hand stops," yenepó momáp (Guaraní mombáb, to stop), the potter tribes say "1 hand," the Nahuquá simply "hand."

The numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 are formed out of 1, 2, 3, 4 with an addition. It is only among the Kamayurá that the latter is different for 6 and 7 than for 8 and 9. For 6 and 7 = 1 and 2 + verowák, the meaning (Guaraní guerobág) seems to be: 1 or 2 are interchanged, alternate.

/406/ Among the potter tribes and probably also the Auetó 10 contains the hands, among the others the word is a new one.

/406 cont./

With 11, among all of them, the foot enters, specified by an addition, and 12, 13, 14 are = 2, 3, 4 + foot and this addition. The Nahuquá, however, instead of their word for foot, use the word vuro, which, however, from a comparison with other Karaiben /Carib/ languages, is recognizable as a stem with the same meaning, * and now count from 11-15: "1, 2, 3, 4, 5 foot"

* vuro = upu-lu (-lu pronominal suffix);

Makusi, Island Karaiben, upu, foot.

on the right toes and from 16-20 on the left "1, 2, 3, 4, 10 foot."

From 15-19 matters are very confused; with 15 a new addition usually appears and the formations run parallel to those of the second hand from 6-9 or those of the first foot from 11-14. Among the Yaulapiti, whose numbers are formed very regularly, 1 foot means 15, whereas among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ 11, in the former instance because the foot is finished, in the latter because it is just beginning. Thus, among the Mehinakú, the following oddity occurs: 5 = 1 hand, 11 = 1 foot, 12 = 2 foot, 13 = 3 foot, 14 = 4 foot and (since 5 = 1 hand) 15 = 1 hand, foot!

All have the feet in the 20 except the Auetó. Among the Yaulapiti the same addition which was with the hand = 10, is with the foot = 20. Among the Kustenaú /Custenau/ 15 is precariously similar to 20.

Let us now turn to the more backward Bakaírf, with whom I practiced all kinds of arithmetical exercises.

The names of their counting apparatus, the fingers, have nothing to do with numbers. The thumb means "father"; the little finger, "child" or "little one"; the middle finger, as among us, "the middle one"; index finger and ring finger are called the "neighbor" -- at least that is the probable meaning -- in the case of the former, of the "father," and, in the case of the latter, the "neighbor" of the "little one."

They count in words up to 6:

1 = tokále

4 = aháge aháge

2 = aháge

5 = aháge aháge tokále

3 = aháge tokále or ahewáo

6 = aháge aháge aháge

As may be seen, they have individual words only for the numbers from 1 to 3, and the numbers from 4 to 6 are made up out of aháge and tokále. It was only on the second expedition

/420 cont. /

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192
They all had in common a word each for 1) red and orange, 2) yellow, 3) white, 4) black. This therefore corresponds exactly with their dyestuffs. The Auetö had the same word, the "white" of the Tupí language, for white and light yellow. The Trumai were the only ones who had two words for blue and green; the rest designated these two colors with the same word. Among the Bakaírf /Bacairi/, however, tamagenéng blue = black and dark brown, and green is tukuéng; it also happened that one of them would use tukuéng for blue as well, but not tamagenéng for green. Now and then the strangest things occurred. A Trumai and a Nahuquá designated blue with the same word as cadmium yellow, a Bakaírf and a Mehinakú /Mehinacu/ designated green just the same as red -- if one wished, one could discover the various types of color blindness among any of them one happened to be investigating.

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Only linguistic research can give the key for these phenomena. For a number of the color words I am able to give the original meaning, and they will suffice to explain possibilities of this kind. It is quite certain that the Kamayurá /Camayura/ word "blue" or "green" i-tsovü-maé = parakeet-colored" from tsövü, the name of the *Conurus* species or parakeets. These parrots have grass green as well as indigo blue in their feathers. In Tupí the same color word is cúgui, cy, and the parakeet is called tovi, tui, civi, ciui. Thanks to the Kamayurá form, i-tsovü-mae, the origin of cúgui, already obliterated in the Tupí, is still preserved. Whether I showed the Indian a blue or a green daub, a blue string of beads or a green leaf, his answer, "parakeet-colored," was, indeed, correct. It all depends on which part of the coloring he visualized. The Auetö word i-kör-etü, "green" or "blue," perhaps corresponds to the "parrot" of the Tupí, jeru, softened from keru, so that we would have here "parrot-colored."

The tukuéng "green" of the Bakaírf also goes back to the parakeet zugú-ri.* Now since there is a parakeet species kept in

* The name of the parakeet is onomatopoeic, hence very similar among Bakaírf, Tupí, and Bororó.

Trumai SP23
Paressi SP19
Bororo SP8

/523/

Appendix.

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I. Word List of the

1. Nahuquá, 2. Yanumakapü-Nahuquá, 3. Mehinakü, 4. Kustenaü, 5. Waurá, 6. Yaulapiti, 7. Auetó, 8. Kamayurá, 9. Trumai, 10. Paressi, 11. Bororó.

The following lists, which I have arranged as uniformly as possible, are limited to substantives, personal pronouns of the first and second person, colors, numbers, negation. With anything else I should necessarily have to enter into grammatical discussions which would lead me too far afield. For this reason I have also been obliged to dispense with any kind of comparison. Anyone who studies the words a little more closely will easily recognize a number of regular forms of phonetic change and will be able to convince himself of the important fact that in the various groups -- especially in a comparison of the Auetó and Kamayurá /Camayurá/ with the lingoa geral -- there takes place the same softening of the initial sound of the stem that I pointed out for Bakaïrî /Bacairi/ and the Karaïben /Carib/ idioms. Everywhere, it seems, with lawful certainty, we come across the three series of the p-, t-, and k- initial sounds as the oldest possession of the base-languages.

The spelling has been kept as simple as possible. Note only:

a English a as in walk.

y as in York.

v German w.

ʔ guttural fricative, our German ch formed at the middle palate.

ʃ French ch.

s French c.

z French z.

/524/

ð English th.